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Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 PM-03 NSC-05 SP-02

SS-15 RSC-01 INRE-00 PRS-01 CIAE-00 INR-05 NSAE-00

SAM-01 SAB-01 IO-04 /053 W
---------- 040348
O 301800Z OCT 74
FM AMEMBASSY RABAT
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3649
INFO ARAB SUMMIT CONFERENCE 29
AMEMBASSY DACCA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L RABAT 5290

DACCA FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR XF MO
SUBJECT: ARAB SUMMIT: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF OUTCOME

1. NO OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE HAS BEEN ISSUED. FOLLOWING ARE SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS BASED ON WHAT WE KNOW THUS FAR.

2. SUMMIT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN NOTEWORTHY SUCCESS FROM ARAB POINT OF VIEW AND PERSONALLY FOR KING HASSAN. ACCENT HAS BEEN LARGELY ON POSITIVE--ARAB DESIRE FOR PEACE AND STRENGTH OF ARAB BARGAINING POSITION HAVE BEEN PLAYED UP. CRITICISM OF US HAS BEEN SUBDUED.

3. CONFERENCE PRODUCED WHAT WAS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO AVOID SHOW OF ARAB DISARRAY: PLO-JORDANIAN "ACCORD." ARAB LEADERS HAVE MAINTAINED HIGH DEGREE OF SECRECY, AND DETAILS OF ACCORD REMAIN OBSCURE, HOWEVER. WE HAVE FEELING THAT SOME OF THESE DETAILS MAY IN FACT NOT YET HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT. IN PARTICULAR, FUZZINESS (AND PROBABLY FLEXIBILITY) PERSISTS AS TO WHO MIGHT BE INVOLVED ON ARAB SIDE IN ANY
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GENEVA PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. FUTURE JORDANIAN NEGOTIATING

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ROLE IN THAT FORUM IS NOT SPELLED OUT BUT, ON OTHER HAND, ROLE FOR JORDAN HAS NOT BEEN RULED OUT EITHER.

4. PLO ALSO SEEMS TO HAVE OPEN OPTIONS. ACCORDING TO KING HASSAN'S STATEMENT IN OCT 30 PRESS CONFERENCE (RABAT 5277), PLO DID NOT RULE OUT MOVES TOWARD DISENGAGEMENT. IN ADDITION, PLO HAS EVIDENTLY NOT REJECTED GENEVA ROLE FOR ITSELF. ON PLO'S OWN INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS, QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE IS STILL OPEN. ONE WAY FOR PLO TO PLAY UP ITS "VICTORY" AT RABAT WOULD BE TO MOVE QUICKLY TO FORM SUCH GOVERNMENT, BUT ARAFAT IS APHHRENTLY NOT PRESSING THIS ISSUE, TO JUDGE FROM HIS OCT 30 PRESS CONFERENCE (RABAT 5285).

5. A NEW EGYPTIAN-SYRIAN-JORDANIAN-PLO FRAMEWORK FOR COORDINATION HAS BEEN FORMED, AND WILL BE INAUGURATED IN FORTHCOMING TALKS IN AMMAN IN NEAR FUTURE. SCOPE OF RESPONSIBILITY OF THIS BODY APPEARS LIMITED, HOWEVER. POINT 4 OF 5-POINT AGREEMENT ON JORDAN AND PLO ANNOUNCED OCT 29 (RABAT 5253; AMMAN 6407) APPARENTLY INVOLVES EFFORTS REGARDING PALESTINIAN TERRITORY ONLY, NOT GOLAN AND SINAI. SYRIAN AND EGYPTIAN FREEDOM OF NEGOTIATING MANEUVER WOULD THEREFORE SEEM TO BE UNIMPEDED. IT MAY WELL BE THAT PLO WOULD HAVE PREFERRED BROADER, MORE TIGHTLY REINED COORDINATION REGARDING ALL TERRIRORIES, BUT HAD TO SETTLE FOR LESS. FURTHERMORE, PLO RESPONSIBILITY HAS ALSO BEEN SPECIFICALLY FOCUSED BY 5 POINTS ON PALESTINIANS IN LANDS WHICH MIGHT BE LIBERATED BUT NO PLO RESPONSIBILITY SPECFICIALLY ENUNCIATED FOR PALESTINIANS IN JORDAN ITSELF.

6. THUS, WHILE PLO-JORDANIAN ACCORD IS NO DOUBT SOMETHING OF A PAPERING OVER OF VERY DEEP DIFFERENCES, EACH PARTY WOULD SEEM TO BE ABLE TO MOVE ON IS OWN IN ARAB AND NEGOTIATING ARENAS WITHOUT BEING SHACKLED BY THE OTHER. ON OTHER HAND, NEGOTIATIONS, PARTICULARLY ON WEST BANK ISSUE, HAVE NOW OBVIOUSLY BECOME EVEN MORE COMPLEX THAN BEFORE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF PROJECTED PLO CONTROL OVER ANY LIBERATED PALESTINIAN TERRITORY.

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ANY FUTURE ROLE PLO WERE TO SEEK IN GENEVA WOULD ALSO NO DOUBT BE MAJOR COMPLICATING FACTOR. NEED FOR "CONFRONTATION STATES" TO SORT OUT THEIR OWN COORDINATED POSITIONS IS ALSO LIKELY TO ENTAIL SLOWDOWN OF NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

7. PREOCCUPATION OF SUMMIT WITH PLO-JORDANIAN DISPUTE CLEARLY LEFT ARAB LEADERS TIME FOR ONLY RELATIVELY CURSORY

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ATTENTION TO OTHER ISSUES. IN THE ABSENCE THUS FAR OF OFFICIAL SUMMIT ANNOUNCEMENTS, WE MUST RELY HEAVILY ON PRESS REPORTS AND RUMORS TO SORT OUT OTHER ISSUES TREATED BY SUMMIT. MAIN ISSUE BESIDES PLO-JORDAN SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN ARAB DEFENSE FUND, WHICH SAID TO HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED IN AMOUNT OF 2.5 BILLION DOLLARS. EVEN OIL, ACCORDING TO HASSAN, WAS ADDRESSED ONLY BY PROTROLEUM MINISTERS IN ANY DETAIL AND DECISIONS ON SPECIFIC OIL ISSUES HAVE BEEN PUT OFF TO FUTURE EXPERTS' MEETINGS (RABAT 5289).

8. HASSAN PERSONALLY SEEMS TO HAVE ENHANCED HIS STATURE ON ARAB SCENCE CONSIDERABLY, WITH WIDESPREAD RECOGNITION THAT HIS EFFORTS WERE LARGELY RESPONSIBLE FOR PLO-JORDANIAN ACCORD AND SALVAGING OF SUMMIT. HIS SKILLFUL PERFORMANCE AT HIS PRESS CONFERENCE (RABAT 5277) PORTRAYED HIM AS A MAJOR ARAB LEADER AND RELATIVELY MODERATE STATESMAN SURE OF HIS ROLE AND CONFIDENT IN HIS ABILITY TO FILL IT. HIS PRESTIGE AT HOME SHOULD ALSO BE BOOSTED AS A RESULT.

9. WE WILL BE REFINING OUR VIEWS AS WE HAVE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE HIGH-LEVEL MOROCCAN OFFICIALS (PRESENTLY DOG-TIRED) AND TALK IN MORE DETAIL WITH DIPLOMATIC COLLEAGUES IN NEXT FEW DAYS.
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